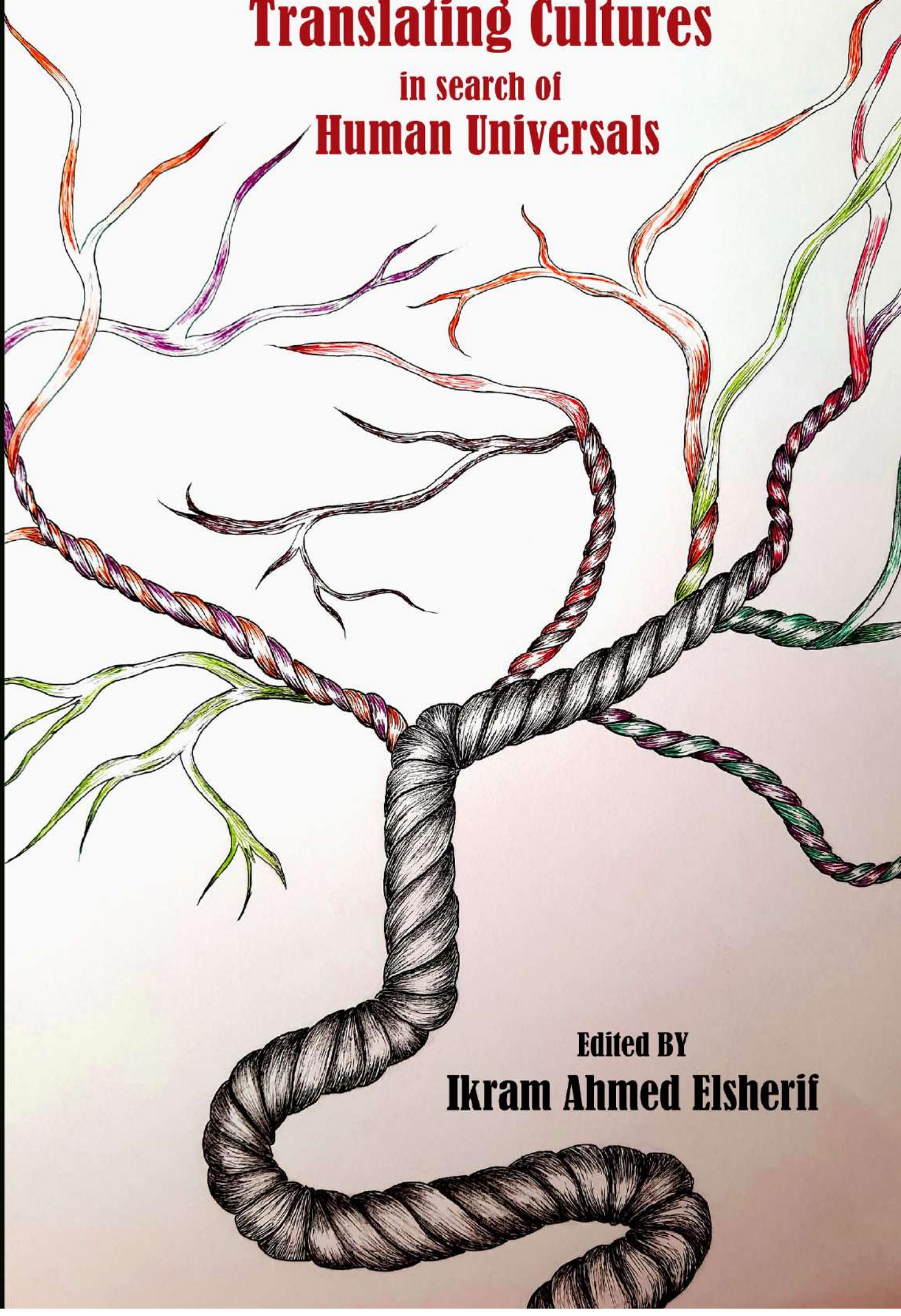


Translating Cultures

in search of
Human Universals



Edited BY
Ikram Ahmed Elsherif

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Cambridge
Scholars
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To Professor Nawal El-Degwi

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IMPACT OF BIASED/NEUTRAL MEDIA DISCOURSE ON CONFLICT MITIGATION: A FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS

Mahmoud Hamed ElSherif

I. Introduction

Ideology and language are inseparable. The relation becomes more dialectical and central when it comes to the language of the media. Yet, news industry is international business; news needs to be phrased as a marketable commodity to be distributed to a wide range of various media outlets. In other words, media language needs to be ideology free, a professional pursuit which seems hard to achieve since language (and the ideology inherent in it) and media are inextricably linked. The quest becomes thornier when it comes to conflict news coverage.

Esperança Bielsa and Susan Bassnett argue that the traditional values of news agencies have created stylistic rules based on objectivity and neutrality.¹ Accordingly, news structures and phrasing need to be planned and handled in a way that suites the cultural and social background of the target audience. Moreover, the news stories, ideally speaking, have to be ideologies-free and neutral in terms of word choice, phrasing, news coverage as well as setting the editorial agenda. Paul Marris and Sue Thornham, however, challenge this view pointing out that "news is ideology: the 'integrated picture of reality' which it provides is a picture which legitimates the interests of the powerful in society".²

Power and news coverage are both key elements in tackling the impact of news discourse on agitating/mitigating conflict. Neither component can be addressed in isolation—the effects of the former and the structure of the latter are intertwined. Moreover, in the era of the Internet and social media and in the aftermath of the 'Arab Spring', many non-state actors in the MENA region have acquired the ability to challenge the state monopoly of power, news coverage (as a source of knowledge) as well as access to information, and in some cases violence.

The failure of reconciliation between the absence of democracy and the rise of citizen journalism shook the ground under the dominant power and shaped the scene of the news sources and news making. State and non-state actors employ soft power (media and communications strategies) to guard their interests. "Evolutions in communications technologies have changed the meaning of power in international relations, the number and

nature of actors participating in international political process, and the strategies these actors employ to achieve their goals.”³

This article is divided into six parts, including the introduction. Part II states the research objectives and Part III identifies the research problem. Part IV explains the research method. Part V integrates content analysis strategies for analysis. Finally, Part VI concludes.

II. Objective of Research

The present study endeavors to examine the partial and biased structures built on ideological motives. It aspires to uncover the map of the terminology utilized in the media discourse, highlighting their semantic ideological connotations with regard to the challenges of providing alternative lexical items. Moreover, the paper tackles issues of peace media as well as labeling, verbal violence etc., in order to highlight the potential role of peace journalism (PJ)⁴ in defusing conflict. The findings of this paper can help professional associations of journalists in setting their self-made guidelines for providing neutral discourse. The paper thus aspires to draw the policymakers’ attention to the fact that media can play a pernicious or an appeasing role in conflict times.

III. Setting the problem

According to M. H. ElSherif the international news content experienced a significant evolution in coining terms of war machine and labeling some ‘rogue’ entities after 9/11.⁵ The press deliberately publicized these jargons and labels as a subterfuge in order to mislead the audience away from the inexcusable violence against civilians and to attract the reader to the rhetoric of the news discourse.

In addition, Teun A. Van Dijk points out that "another feature of lexical style is the use of mitigating words or more literary variants of harsh expressions."⁶ Oddly enough, these mitigating words were used by the propaganda machine of the United States during the war on Iraq, not to mitigate conflict but to distort the truth and justify killing more innocent civilians. The disparity between the truth and mitigating words is very clear in using words such as ‘civilian causalities’. The problem here is how to provide a text that is both mitigating in nature and enlightening to the audience at the same time. Mitigating, here, means to keep the balance in a way that does not provoke any of the conflicting parties. Yet, what is deemed by one party as a balanced news coverage, may be deemed biased by another party. Additionally, Jeremy Burke highlights that “the desire to appear unbiased leads to information loss.”⁷

كشف تقرير أولي صادر عن مركز صنعاء للإعلام الحقوقى عن ما أسماه "جرائم نهب واقتحام واسعة" ارتكبها جماعة الحوثي.

IV. Method of Research

A qualitative research design is pursued in the light of the nature of the study. In order to achieve this endeavor, some news stories on regional affairs (i.e. Middle East affairs) are examined for their stylistic and linguistic features with a view to evaluating the suitability of the structure and the lexicon of the news items and their impact on enhancing the audience's awareness and on agitating/mitigating the feelings of disgust and extreme hatred.

Since the current study is basically concerned with detecting strategies and techniques used in labelling and branding, it employs content and contrastive analysis techniques. The research sorts out the linguistic chunks, highlighting their cultural and social meaning in order to explore how they are received and perceived, as well as their impact on the recipient.

The paper explores and analyzes selected samples, tackling the techniques used in developing news item to examine whether neutral facts are partially or fully conveyed, or whether they are forged to serve the corporate owner's agenda. It also analyzes the meaning of the expression and how it originated with the aim of providing a comprehensive in-depth analysis of neutral alternatives.

The study does not track the existence of PJ in Arabic language media as this is a relatively newly born trend in media. While there is an abundance of literature on war journalism, the literature produced by PJ is very little and cannot provide a representative sample.⁹ Wilhelm Kempf highlights the fact that war discourse is the only subject tackled by most scholars who constructed the subject on the analysis of the conflict.¹⁰

V. Sample Analysis

The social construction of reality is influenced by news-making strategies.¹¹ Thus, the selection of one lexical item in a certain context changes the tone and attitudes of the text, adding new shades of meaning. Consequently, the reception mechanisms on the part of the audience start automatically to respond positively or negatively. Van Dijk observes that lexical choices that reporters make may have particular semantic implications.¹² According to Samuel Ichiyé Hayakawa and Alan R. Hayakawa, words which convey judgments, i.e. expressions of the writer's approval or disapproval of what s/he is describing, should be kept out of news stories.¹³

Gilboa points out that applying a functional approach to mass communications reveals five functions of media. 1) news coverage; 2) news analysis, op-ed and the like; 3) channeling of culture.¹⁴ The previous three functions are suggested by Harold D. Lasswell.¹⁵ Entertainment is a fourth function suggested by Charles R. Wright.¹⁶ The fifth function, introduced by Denis McQuail, is mobilization.¹⁷ In the light of the research problem, mobilization and conflict news coverage, as functions of media, are the critical functions and a case in point in this paper that should be examined against their impact in conflict mitigation. To reach a judgement in this regard, the discourse employed for these functions/dysfunctions needs to be examined.

As the language of media is a constantly evolving discourse, especially on the level of lexicon, a good editor keeps an eye on the lexicon repertoire to avoid clichés and outdated expressions. Anna Mckane warns editors of following the crowd by employing vague language, which may have seemed relevant and amusing years ago but has become 'journalistic clichés' today.¹⁸ Mckane remarks that "The news of the world stories are not full of dramatic words and phrases, they have just enough to make the story lively, without being overwritten".¹⁹

In addition, a vigilant editor has to be cautious about selecting words that carry ideologically forbidden words and expression. Definitely, some words are loaded with ideological charges and others have become archaic. The editor has to avoid both archaic and ideological words. Archaic words are those outdated words that seem to be more classical²⁰, while ideological—or colored by ideological orientation—words are those intended to express views of the media corporate.

David Robertson defines ideology as a complete and self-consistent set of attitudes, moral views, empirical beliefs and even rules of logical discourse and scientific testing.²¹ Xianzhong He and Zhou Xulu highlight that there is an abundance of lexical words that people use to signify the same objects, bodies, groups, or social matters according to gender,

personal and socio-cultural context. The choice of a lexical item is based on ideological criteria. For example, a reporter can opt for “freedom fighter” rather than “terrorist” or “pro-choice” rather than “pro-life”, while covering the same story to assert constructive connotations of opinions and values and the degrading ones of those of the Other.²²

Resorting to the use of a specific set of words and expressions, however, reveals the ideological background behind the editorial policy of the news corporate. The case is highly sensitive as far as the conflict news is concerned. In this regard Van Dijk points out that

News about foreign affairs has a rather special lexical style register. Not only are the words used in accordance with the formal style of news writing in general but also the account of international politics, which is the prevailing component of foreign news, requires both delicacy and some typical political jargon borrowed from diplomats and politicians.²³

A good case in point is the term “Violent non-state actor”/ “Armed non-state actor”. The term is developed and disseminated by political commentators and media pundits to refer to entities that use violence and challenge the state monopoly of violence. By adopting this term, the work on political analysis remains aloof and retains its objectivity. But the term is little used in the English media discourse,²⁴ as the media adopts other versions of the term such as “militia”, “rebels”, “terrorist group”, “banned group” and the like; and is less used in Media Arabic.²⁵ Basil Hatim and Ian Mason (1990) remark that

The content of what we do with language reflects ideology at different levels: at the lexical-semantic level, and the grammatical-syntactic level. [...] the fact remains that reflecting the ideological force of the words is an inescapable duty.²⁶

Regarding the ideological message conveyed by the language of the news, the most marked feature of the discourse is the lexicon chosen by the text composer. After 9/11, in particular, the world news discourse experienced a critical development in coining terms of war machine and labeling some “terror” entities.²⁷ The problem with these labels is the effects and impacts they have on the reception mechanisms of the target audience. In other words, the addressee formulates misconceptions and a negative ready-made image concerning the labeled objects. In addition, the loose definitions of terms like “terrorism” or “preemptive measures”, more precisely, the absence of UN-adopted definitions, adds insult to injury.

However, human language is a living object, which means that language items change, grow, get sick or even die. Some words start with a good reputation before falling in the region between grey and black. To decide whether a word or an expression is judgmental is a relative issue. To clarify, the debate between AlJazeera network and Al-Arabiya on referring to killed persons in different parts of the Arab world as “martyrs” or “dead” is a good example. The conflict in the Middle East is full of typical examples that uncover the thorny problem of using neutral terms.

Some newspapers use the term عملية انتحارية (suicide operation), to refer to the case when someone blows themselves up with an explosive belt to kill the largest number of the targeted people, and call this person انتحاري (suicide bomber). However, other newspapers refer to such operations as ع مليات استشهاد (martyrdom operations) and the person who carries them out as استشهاد (martyrdom seeker, or self-sacrificer). The same also applies to terms like متمردون- عناصر المقاومة (“rebels” vs. “resistance elements”). The choice of either term reflects the editorial policy of the paper or the media outlet. Recently, *Al-Riyadh*, a Saudi daily newspaper, had to apologize to its readers for using the term “متمردون”,²⁸ meaning rebels, instead of using “مقاومة” meaning resistance, when referring to Syrian armed elements fighting against AlAssad forces. In that regard, a news editor has to use neutral words and be unbiased to either side of the conflict. Barry James emphasizes that

The role of the journalist is not to take sides, but to explain. Journalism can also act as a neutral ground through which groups can communicate with one another, and the media can act as watchdog over any peace agreement, particularly one that has been secretly negotiated.²⁹

Here James is underlines two of the basic functions of media in times of conflict: bridge builder and watchdog. Giving voice to all enhances bridge building, which in turn can lead to fire cease and lasting peace. Giving voice to all means respecting all parties in the conflict and stopping the propaganda machine of the conflict. The lifeblood of the propaganda machine is the extensive use of labels such as “violent” or “terrorist” in describing the other, instead of words such as “opponent” or “resistant”. Adopting such labels is an indicator that the media outlet is taking sides and cannot remain aloof.

The two terms إرهاب (violence) and إرهاب (terrorism) are more controversial. No specific, well-established definition has been set for either of them. Some see that violence, retaliatory acts, and even self-defense are euphemistic variations of terrorism. W. Lance Bennett reveals

that the label "terrorist" and "terrorism" is used as "a blanket declaration.³⁰ These labels and jargon have been propagated deliberately in the press as camouflage to distract the audience away from the unjustified violence against civilians and at the same time attract them to the rhetoric of the news discourse. Donald Matheson highlights that

During the 2003 invasion of Iraq, British and American military spokespeople talked of 'mouseholing' (the practice of blowing holes in the walls of houses during house-to-house searches instead of entering through the door and risking booby traps), of 'embedding' journalists with troops, of 'blue on blue' attacks (killing one's own side) and of course the ever useful 'collateral damage' (killing civilians by accident).³¹

After the political unrest that Egypt witnessed in 2013, TV channels and newspapers raised the slogan of "Egypt Fighting Terrorism", taking it, according to Human Rights Watch claims, as justification for actions against human rights fighters and freedom of the press; many news websites were blocked.³² Such policies block any way to a constructive dialogue between conflicting parties and enhance the state of fragmentation, where freedom of association, freedom of assembly and freedom of expression are suppressed. W. Lance Bennett argues that

The blanket declaration of "War on Terror" risks blocking understanding of disenfranchised groups who have resorted to violence as a last desperate measure to make themselves heard and their problems addressed. As political scientist Steven Livingston has shown, the terrorist label is often strategically placed in the news by partisan actors pursuing policy agendas, and that label affects how those policy stories are told.³³

The problem in some of the developing countries is exacerbated due to the dominance of mainstream media owned by the State. Although the social media appeared in the beginning of the third Millennium as a game changer, many activists in the Middle East reported biased policies by the network moderators.³⁴ Some networks limit the outreach or even delete posts by freedom fighters or resistant groups under recommendations by State actors. Needless to say, Facebook was fined 643,000 \$US in Cambridge Analytica Scandal.³⁵ Tomis Kapitan asserts that the State, as well as resistance groups, may practice violence and terrorism, but the problem lies in media treatment:

It has become a familiar observation that only by violence do the oppressed gain a hearing. Yet, as mentioned, the Western media

were largely hostile to the Palestinian recourse to arms, especially when civilians were targeted. To anyone familiar with the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the discriminatory manner in which the “terrorist” label has been applied conceals the actual facts. Because states are viewed as legitimate international actors in a way that liberation movements typically are not, placing a bomb in a car or at a bus stop seemed more sinister than dropping it from an airplane, even though civilians were the victims in both cases. Then too, those sympathetic to Israel had greater access to western media.³⁶

Some media outlets do not use the term “terrorist” to refer to a certain group that is so. Rather, there are plenty of expressions and structures used instead such as “quoting a source describing them as terrorist/s”, “what they so called”, “as he/she puts it”, etc. Magdi Kandil elaborates more on this issue with its impact on media discourse relevant to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, remarking that

Words referring to the Israeli side on the BBC and CNN are more neutral than those used to refer to the Palestinian side. [...] words referring to the Palestinian side are generally more evaluative. Al-Jazeera generally uses the positive word resistance to refer to Palestinian fighters; the BBC prefers the less negative words militant and militants; while the CNN uses the negative words terrorist and terrorists as well as militant and militants.³⁷

Recently, in an interview with Hassan Abu Hussein, a senior monitoring journalist at BBC Cairo office, he revealed that the term “داعش” is a derogatory acronym allegedly made by the Syrian Islamist militant group, AlNusrah Front, in reference to the 'Islamic State in Iraq and Syria/Levant' (ISIS/ISIL). Today, “داعش” is one of the most famous acronyms in the Media Arabic, the equivalent of "ISIS/ISIL" which means "Islamic State in Iraq and Syria/Levant". The norm in Arabic is to mention only the first lexical item, i.e. تنظيم الدولة or التنظيم. Interestingly enough, Media Arabic has introduced etymological derivations from this acronym as the Arabic reader hears and reads “مقتل عشرة دواعش” or “داعشنة”.

After the “extremist” group had taken over large swathes of territory in Syria and Iraq in June 2014 and self-proclaimed an "Islamic State" and an Islamic Caliphate, there has been a debate in various media outlets over how to refer to the militant group. Some broadcasters, including Pan-Arab Al-Jazeera TV, use the term تنظيم الدولة. Most of the Arabic printed publications across the Arab world prefer to use “داعش” as a pejorative term for ISIS/ISIL.

In this context, it is of prime importance to reflect that BBC is famous for its neutrality; however, Aneta Podkalicka quotes a BBC journalist revealing that "BBC claims to be impartial but is funded by the Foreign Office so to some extent, maybe not the content, but where the content is directed is a part of political interest of the UK".³⁸ Interestingly, the BBC used to use the term "Islamic State" without the definite article. Later, and after it was criticized by the British Prime Minister David Cameron and after complaints by many of its Muslim journalists about feeling offended, they allowed the use of the term "group" or "militant group" following "Islamic State", or to say "the so-called Islamic State group". The BBC Arabic website uses "تنظيم الدولة الإسلامية" (Daesh), which is sometimes followed by "المعروف باسم داعش". This is a kind of labeling which is best used in media. In this respect, Donald Matheson shows that these labels are influential lexical items in lumping people in stereotypical categories. Editors use these labels because they provide the best solution for the space limit of media channels as they encompass much connotations and shades of meaning.³⁹

It should be noted here that AlJazeera, responded to a request introduced by ISIS to the Arabic media to stop labeling it as "داعش", as AlJazeera keeps calling the group "تنظيم الدولة" and deleting the modifier "الإسلامية". AlJazeera's positive response to ISIS' request can be justified by the fact that many territories were controlled by ISIS, which means that media coverage would be risky for journalists who work with news makers that tend to label the Group and who cover the news of the humanitarian situation and the work of relief organizations. In this respect, James refers to a very important issue: if relief organizations are to gain needed advocacy and certitude of the local population, they have to provide relevant and unbiased information which is critical to their work. Such information should be neutral and reliable, although it may not be news in the exact meaning of the term.⁴⁰

Such procedures boost the trustworthiness between the parties involved in the conflict on one hand and the media on the other hand. When media is trusted, they have unconditioned access to first-hand information even by civilians who are suffering. Thus, media can prevent crises through timely access to critical information and transmitting information to the people concerned. James emphasizes the importance of gaining people's trust as well as endorsement because it is not enough to provide them with information services. This trust makes the media widely accepted and safe and this condition facilitates the work of the media.⁴¹

Interestingly enough, in occupied Palestine, consumers and beneficiaries of certain services are referred to as زبائن (customers, clients), avoiding the use of the word عمالء in this context, because it has the additional meaning of "agents" that may refer to the fifth column and

those spying for Israel. In the Egyptian culture, the word زبان is a slang cliché and its singular زبون has derogatory, sarcastic connotations.

To sum up, the lexical choice reflects the newspaper's orientation. Therefore, what some media people call "rebels" can be named "resistance elements", "terrorists" or "militants" by some other media outlets. Media outlets usually have their own orientations that may appear in their stylistic features and the set of lexical items used. News stories have their own characteristics and features that editors should be aware of in order to produce neutral composition.

VI. Conclusion and Recommendations

The present article proposes some points of interest related to discourse neutrality. First, the language of news reports tends to employ typical terms and expressions that enhance labeling and defamation. Second, the style and lexical choice particularly is the most salient feature of biased media discourse. Third, most world affair news items in the Arab World are productions of extensive translation and editing practices that pay attention to macro linguistic level, ignoring the micro linguistic level, especially lexical choice, which may be in conflict with the strategies of mainstreaming the set of terminologies used in times of conflict.

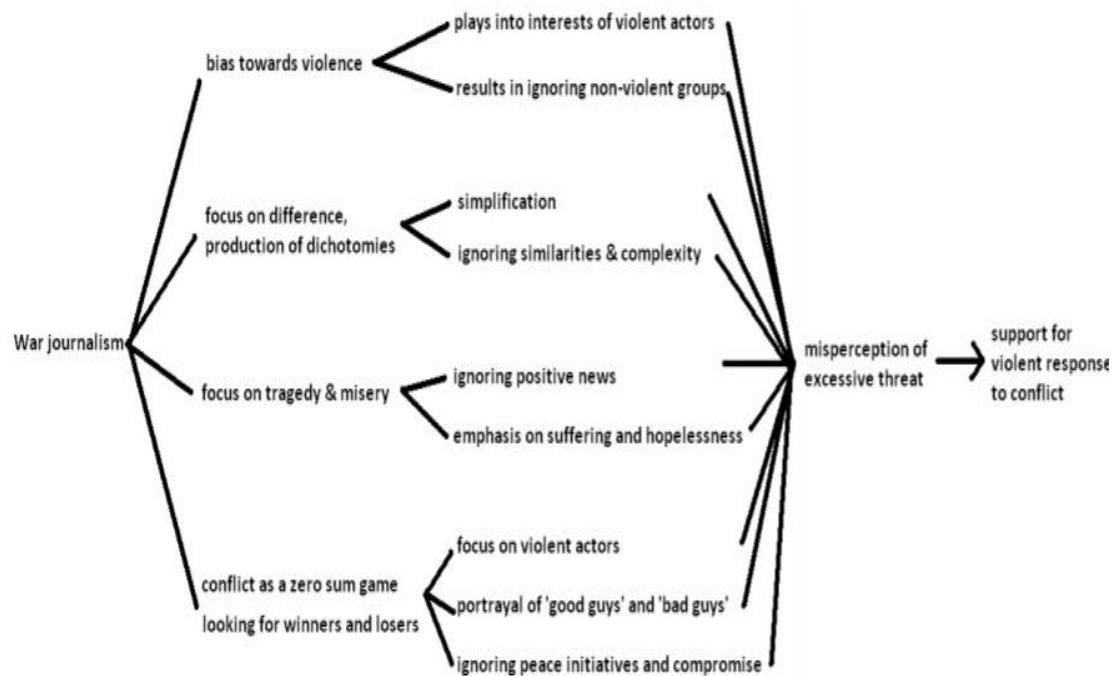
Since the purpose of this paper is to highlight the problem of the lexical choice in the field of media, it is critically essential to remark that the use of detached and unbiased lexical items in news reports should be strongly maintained in order to produce neutral discourse that boosts a community-wide dialogue in which the conflicting issues can be diffused in order to mitigate conflict. However, though there is no one-size-fits-all strategy in phrasing news reports, journalist associations through cooperation with media corporates can still act as watchdog over journalistic practices.

The journalistic practices vary and are manifold, including but not limited to: A) the field work of journalists and media men shall set up understanding strategies of the culture of the target audience; B) the editorial policy must stress the news coverage and analysis as well as op-ed enhance common destiny of humanity; C) media shall remain aloof and keep itself distant from any biased attitudes; D) regular training should be regularly provided for the journalists on how to phrase neutral and ideology-free news stories. The training materials shall be based on insights and findings derived from polls and field interviews. E) journalists shall make the best use of social networks to benefit from its worldwide prevalence without underestimating the mainstream media, in particular TV and Radio, as they reach the most vulnerable groups and the poorest people who are voiceless. Media shall cooperate with NGOs

and religious institutions to support dialogue and brand public figures who can represent a buffer against the drivers of violence. In such a way, media can gain the trust of the target audiences of areas afflicted by insurgency and violence.

Appendix A:

Visualization of the way war journalism induces support for military interventions (adapted from Nijenhuis 13)



Notes

¹ Esperança Bielsa and Susan Bassnett, *Translation in global news*. (London and New York: Routledge, 2009), 35.

² Paul Marris, Sue Thornham, and Caroline Bassett, eds., *Media studies: A Reader*. (New York: NYU Press, 1996), 402.

³ Eytan Gilboa, "Media and Conflict Resolution: A Framework for Analysis." *Marquette Law Review*. 93(1), pp.87-110.

⁴ Annabel McGoldrick and Jake Lynch, "Peace journalism: what is it? How to do it?" Sri Lanka Muslim Media Forum, (2006). Lynch and McGoldrick define peace journalism as, "when editors and reporters make choices—of what to report, and how to report it—that create opportunities for society at large to consider and value non-violent responses to conflict," 6.

⁵ Mahmoud Hamed Elsherif, "Putative Neutrality of Translated UN Discourse: A Semantic Study," MA thesis (*Cairo University*, 2009), 106.

⁶ Teun A. Van Dijk, *News analysis: Case Studies of International and National News in the Press*. (London and New York: Routledge, 2013), 109.

⁷ Jeremy Burke, "Unfairly Balanced: Unbiased News Coverage and Information Loss." *Available at SSRN 1020627*, 2009, 27.

⁸ Lynch and McGoldrick, 8.

⁹ See Appendix A on War Journalism.

¹⁰ Wilhelm Kempf, "Constructive Conflict Coverage-A Social-Psychological Research and Development Program." *Conflict & Communication* 2, no. 2 (Jul. 2003): 1-13.

¹¹ Roger Fowler, *Language in the News: Discourse and Ideology in the Press*. (London and New York: Routledge, 1991), 57.

¹² Van Dijk, 50.

¹³ Samuel Ichiyé Hayakawa and Alan R. Hayakawa, *Language in Thought and Action*. (USA: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 1978), 50.

¹⁴ Gilboa, 105.

¹⁵ Harold D. Lasswell "The Structure and Function of Communication in Society." *The Communication of Ideas* 37, no.1 (1948): 136-139.

¹⁶ Charles R. Wright "Functional analysis and mass communication." *Public opinion quarterly* 24, no. 4 (1960): 611.

¹⁷ Denis McQuail, *Mass Communication Theory: An Introduction*. (Beverly Hills and London: Sage Publications, Inc, 1987), 71.

¹⁸ Anna Mckane, *News writing*. (London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: Sage), 2013, 102.

¹⁹ Mackane, 103.

²⁰ However, what may be deemed as inappropriate for editors may be acceptable if it is done by politicians. A good case in point is the speeches by the Iraqi minister of Information Muhammad Saeed al-Sahhaf which were bombastic and full of classical and even archaic lexical items.

²¹ David Robertson, *A Dictionary of Modern Politics*. (London and New York: Europa Publications, 2002), 232.

²² Xianzhong He and Zhou Xulu, "Contrastive Analysis of Lexical Choice and Ideologies in News Reporting the Same Accidents between Chinese and American Newspapers." *Theory and Practice in Language Studies* 5, no. 11 (2015), 2358.

²³ Van Dijk, 108

²⁴ The research used simple Boolean logic techniques which provide specific search results at Google search engine.

²⁵ *Media Arabic*: refers to the language of news stories, printed or published on the web. It is highly important here to emphasize that it excludes the language of the opinion articles as well as advertorials. It is the offspring of Modern Standard Arabic (MSA). Mahmoud Hamed Elsherif, "Domestication versus Foreignization in Arabic Media Localization," PhD thesis, (*Cairo University*, 2009), 19.

²⁶ Basil Hatim and Ian Mason *Discourse and the Translator*. (London and New York: Routledge, 1990), 161.

²⁷ Taryn Butler "The Media Construction of Terrorism Pre and Post-9/11." *Scholar* 24 (2015): 10.

²⁸ The apology published on 5th August, 2016. The website was accessed on 16th January 2020, at 2: 87 p.m. The apology reads as follows:

نشر في عدد الخميس الماضي مع خبر الأحداث في سوريا "غرافييك" بعنوان: (المتمردون يحاولون كسر الحصار على حلب)، حيث تم اعتماد الترجمة الحرافية من قبل الوكالة (رويترز) مصدر "الغرافييك" وفات على المحرر تعديل ما ورد فيه.

و"الرياض" إذ تنشر هذا التوضيح اعتذارا لقرائها الكرام عن الخطأ غير المقصود، لتوذك وقوفها إلى جانب الشعب السوري ضد العذوan البشـع الذي يتعرض له على يـد النـظام السـوري الجـائز، وـهو ما يـتوافق مع سـيـاسـة المـملـكة الـحرـيـصـة عـلـى أـمـنـ سـورـيـةـ أـرـضاـ وـشـعـباـ.

وقد اتـخذـت "الـريـاضـ" الإـجـراءـ الـلـازـمـ حـيـالـ المـتـسـبـبـ فـيـ هـذـاـ الخطـأـ.

²⁹ Barry James, 2004 "Media Conflict Prevention and Reconstruction." *International Conference on the Support to Media in Violent Conflict and in Countries in Transition in Belgrade, May*. Paris, UNESCO.

<https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000138983>

³⁰ W. Lance Bennett *News: The politics of Illusion*. (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2016), 224.

³¹ Donald Matheson, *Media Discourses*. (UK: McGraw-Hill Education, 2005), 21

³² Human Rights Watch: "Egypt: Intensifying Crackdown Under Counterterrorism Guise".

https://www.citationmachine.net/mla/cite-a-website/search?q=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.hrw.org%2Fnews%2F2018%2F07%2F15%2Fegypt-intensifying-crackdown-under-counterterrorism-guise&style=mla&utm_source=owl-text

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³³ Bennett, 268.

³⁴ It is worth mentioning that media published in early 2019 that a US lawmaker sued Twitter for bias allegations. See <https://phys.org/news/2019-03-lawmaker-sues-twitter-alleging-anti-conservative.html>

³⁵ Paolo Zialcita, "Facebook Pays \$643,000 Fine For Role In Cambridge Analytica Scandal," NPR (NPR, October 30, 2019),

<https://www.npr.org/2019/10/30/774749376/facebook-pays-643-000-fine-for-role-in-cambridge-analytica-scandal>.

³⁶ Tomis Kapitan, *Philosophical Perspective on the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*. (London and New York: M. E. Sharpe Inc, 1997), 32.

³⁷ Magdi Kandil, *The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict in American, Arab, and British Media: Corpus-based Critical Discourse Analysis*, PhD Diss. (Georgia State University, 2009), 55.

³⁸ Aneta Podkalicka, "Lost in translation? Language policy, media and community in the EU and Australia: some lessons from the SBS," PhD Diss. (Queensland University of Technology, 2007), 118.

³⁹ Matheson, 21.

⁴⁰ James, 31.

⁴¹ Ibid., 34

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